

Trade G. B. U. 20.

LIVE AND LET LIVE:
A TREATISE
ON THE
HOSTILE RIVALSHIPS
BETWEEN THE
MANUFACTURER
AND
LAND-WORKER.
WITH A
MORE ESPECIAL VIEW
TO THE
PRESENT CONTEST
BETWEEN THE
WOOLLEN MANUFACTURERS
AND
WOOL-GROWERS.
WITH A
POSTSCRIPT.

L O N D O N:
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12 April 1787

The reader is desired to make the following corrections :

Page 11, line 21, *the labourer and producer* to be inclosed within ().

Page 83, line 10, between the words *to* and *decided*, insert *a*.



P R E F A C E.

IT is not usual with the Author to withhold his name from any thing that he thinks proper to publish; nor does he now, from any doubt of avowing the principles which he holds, the doctrines which he lays down, or the uses he makes of them: but not treating this subject as a question of party, nor engaging in the discussion of it as a partizan, he wishes to withhold himself from being inserted personally in it.

He has been esteemed a decided friend of the Woollen Manufacturers: this he could manifest by addresses and letters of thanks sent to him from the woollen manufacturing countries in almost every part of England,

iv P R E F A C E.

which he never published in newspapers, as he is no candidate for that sort of fame. He is invariably, as far as he is now capable, a friend to these manufactories. He had opportunities when in France of examining the nature of their woollen manufactories, and of the wool with which they are fabricated, especially in those branches in which they have rivalled us. He procured samples of the wool and patterns of the cloths. He hath communicated these, (for that was the purpose for which he procured them,) to some of the manufacturers in the North, and he had the pleasure to hear them say, that they had no doubt but that they could beat these French fabriques in their own way. He mentions not these things as vaunting, but as laying in his precaution, that, while he is decidedly in opinion against the monopoly, and against the measures of the monopolists, he may
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P R E F A C E. v

not be considered as hostile to the woollen manufactures in general.

On the other hand, while he writes on the part of the country gentlemen against the monopoly, he neither courts nor expects to be approved by them; differing so much, as he does, from the conduct they have always observed in conducting their interest in this business, he rather feels that he shall disoblige them, and he hopes however, whatever the landlords may think, the farmers and graziers will be sensible how zealously he is their friend.

He will hope that if the manufacturers in general shall see and adopt the distinction between the monopolists and the industrious manufacturer and fair merchant, that they will find him in every part of his reasoning a zealous advocate and friend of their interest.

Finally,

vi P R E F A C E.

Finally, he hopes that he has not said, towards any class, any thing offensive, which can be felt as uncivil or disobliging.

April 12, 1787.

Live

Live and Let Live.

THE nature of the civil community may, as to the process of its life, be considered in the strictest analogy, similar to the vegetative system. As the capillary fibres of the roots of plants stretch themselves out almost imperceptibly to those parts whence they can draw the nutritive matter, which is to become at length component parts of its body; as Nature keeps these within the earth, that in their first operations, they may work in peace and security; so the motives which draw forth the first efforts of labour from the earth; so the uses which lead the produce of that labour into circulation, are
matter

matter of particular experience, better conducted by feeling than reasoning, and should be left to themselves on their own ground. If so left to themselves, and undisturbed in their operations, they will, like the out-stretchings of the roots of the plant, operate in such parts, on such objects, and in such manner, as natural causes call them forth; they will feel the occasions as they arise, and will conduct the produce of their activity into such channels of circulation, as the uses and demand call for: they will, like the fibres of the roots, absorb and secrete from the earth a product which they will form into the nourishment and life-blood of the body. We may form systems of philosophy; we may assume systems of politics to explain these matters, as objects of speculation; but such a comprehensive practical knowledge of these primary and hidden movements, as can pretend to direct them, is not within the reach of natural science, is not within the scope of political knowledge. If any empirick botanist was to presume that he could arrange and direct the outstretching of the first roots of a plant, better than Nature herself usually performs this operation,

operation, he would soon ruin if not destroy his plant. If any presumptuous visionary statesman should imagine that on imaginary maxims and systems of regulations, he could not only teach but ordain by laws, how the first products should be raised, and could form artificial channels into which their uses should be led: he would find that his regulations and laws would soon cramp and palsy the industry of the labourer, would render barren the productive power of the Land-worker, would cross upon and intercept the markets, would arrest the current of circulation, and counter-act all that health, wealth, and strength, which the community, in the free and natural process of its operations, would have wrought the state up to.

Common sense, unsophisticated by predetermined systems, or unbiassed by the seductions of avarice or power, would have taught at first, what long experience, tutored by endless vicissitudes of evils, hath at length taught all wise governments to feel: That the labour of the Land-worker, the industry of the first operations of manufactures—that the forensic circulation,

lation, and the adventures of commerce, are most productive when left to themselves ; and that the statesman then, and then only interferes wisely, when from experience he knows how to keep the balance even, how to preserve the general level of circulation, how to secrete state revenue from national wealth, without checking the productive power, without impoverishing the nutritive juices, and without starving the fruit-bearing branches which produce this supply.

If such a statesman wishes, by regulations founded in the nature of the civil body, to form an organized union between the wealth of commerce, the health and prosperity of the community, and the strength of the state, experience alone, and not speculative maxims, can be his guide, following and not directing, as the natural operations of that body move and act : here he will not be deceived, if he recurs to the analogy above suggested : if he considers the community as a plant, he will know that he must not meddle with the roots. The several branches in the training of the plant are the

the proper objects of his experimental administration: he may aid and assist the bearing-branches, if their due nourishment is drained off and prevented by the barren luxuriancy of the unproductive parts of the plant. As in the process of the life of the plant, so in that of the civil body—there may be operations and labor which are in vain: there may be a busy industry, which does more harm than good: there may be some branches of commerce, which, while they accumulate great coagulations of property to individuals or companies, may however become a disease in the general circulation of labor and profit, may become ruinous to the community, and even dangerous to the state. An experienced and truly commercial minister will know how to recover the right healthful circulation into a general nutrition of the whole. There are other branches of commerce which may drain and impoverish the roots; the *labourer and producer* may flourish and grow rich by an unequal share of the general profit, while the labourer, not having such a share as will support him, and the Land-worker, deprived of his own proper share,

shall continue under a constant state of deprivation and oppression: but as this false luxuriancy is ruinous to the fruit-bearing plant, so it is mischievous to the commercial community. The truly wise statesman here again will know how in such cases to prune off this aberration and false growth, and to recover the circulation to an equal distribution of nutrition, which shall give health to the community, and strength and systematic wealth to the state. On such and such occasions only should the statesman interfere in the circulations of labor and profit, in the adventures of commerce. It is best that his power should never be seen or felt but in remedial aid to protect what is oppressed—and to restore the natural level and circulation where some unnatural violence hath obstructed or perverted its course. It is his care to watch that all classes of the community have equal favors, equal protection, equal share, in proportion to their productive powers, of the general profit, equal liberty, and reciprocal justice. It is his care to hold all in equal balance, at least in that level necessary to hold up from depression, and to maintain their productive powers :

That

That the labourer, he who works in the farm as well as he who works in the manufactory, hath such wages, or such profit on his work, as he can live by, according to the price of food, raiment, and lodging, with a little surplus against sickness:

That the farmer, after being paid interest and insurance for the stock which he advances and puts into his farm, after paying his taxes, his parish rates, and his rent, may have a due return for his annual stock and labour, a competent support for himself and family, and finally a superlucration, or surplus profit, which may enable him to go on not only and barely in a way to live, but in a way to thrive, by carrying that surplus into improvement:

That the Land-owner may receive such a proportionate rent for the use of his land, (the valuable permanency of landed property considered, for which a higher price is due, over that of monied property) as may give him a suitable interest, in some proportion equal (all things considered) to what other property gives, and also
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some share in the general profit of improvements; in a proportionate degree, as the advancing state of these improvements advance the price of things which he must buy with his rent :

That the labouring, as well as the merchant manufacturer, have profits of their labour, in proportion to the stock which they employ in their respective branches :

That the grower, or raiser of the materials of manufactures, is not in a condition, on one hand; to demand a price for his produce, at which the manufacturer cannot afford to work it, and live : and that the manufacturer, on the other hand, is not in a state of power or interest with the Government, so as to be able to depress the grower, and command and set his own price on his produce.

As the community civilizes, and the arts of life refine, the body of the community is naturally divided into two general classes of employment and industry, into those of the *Land-worker* and *Manufacturer* : although these draw their subsistence from raising, and working upon, the
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produce of the earth ; although, when considered as what they really are, they are congenial organs of one common process of the life of the community, and ought to act as such ; yet, like *the harvest of dragon's teeth*, they rise armed against each other, act under a continued hostile rivalry, and with a never-ceasing exertion to depress each other. Their right interest would be mutually to aid, as they mutually depend upon each other. These classes, rightly understanding their own interest, and rightly understood, are co-efficient and reciprocal workers and maintainers of the source of each other's interest and prosperity : envy, jealousy, and avarice, however, so work in them, that instead of operating by their own proper industry on the proper object of their own labour, so as to create an *absolute*, their own proper, profit ; envious and idle, they feel themselves better served with a *relative, though inferior profit*, arising from the privations they can create to their rivals. This system of relative profit, arising from the reciprocal depression of each class, is the oppression of both, and absolutely destructive and ruinous
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to the community at large. Let us therefore consider this matter a little more in detail.

Manufacturers, traders, and merchants, are subsisted, while they are employed on the materials which the Land-worker raises, by the food and victuals which he raises: and the *first source* of manufactures, both in principle and in time, is that *surplus profit* raised from agriculture in an accumulated stock, over and above what the course of improvement in land will re-absorb, and is therefore advantageously turned into the channels of manufacture and commerce.

On the other hand, the Manufacturer and Merchant *provide a market* for the produce both of food and raw materials of the Land-worker; employ the poor; and, as their business advances and encreases, population encreased still more extends and betters that market. This class still further in its turn creates an accumulated surplus of stock, always ready to meet the sale of land itself at market; and so raises not only the annual profit of the land, but the real vendable value of the property also.

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The Land-worker, therefore, in which denomination I include both the proprietor and farmer, should, as in all united interests must be done, submit reasonably and chearfully (as I hope and trust he doth) to some privations, as the Manufacturer, on his part, must reciprocally do, in order, by a just communion in alternate burthens and advantages, to create one common prosperity proportioned to each, according to their respective interests engaged, activity exerted, and improvements made. The Land-worker ought to take upon the land those burthens which the land will best bear; he ought to be content with the home market, so long as that market calls for his supply; and ought there to give the pre-emption and all preference to the Home-manufacturer. He ought to be ready to give even bounties to him, if such are ever necessary; for if bounties are given, it is the land that pays it: he ought chearfully to pay for those armies and fleets, which clear, protect, and open the way to the market for the Manufacturer and Merchant, on the very ground that he has a right to expect that the Manufacturer and Merchant

do not obstruct his way to his market, nor oppress him there.

If the Land-worker depresses the Manufacturer, so far as he does it, he destroys his own market; in the next place, the poor unemployed will fall back upon him; and if under this state, he could accumulate any surplus, which the improvement of land will not absorb, it must either lie dead, or be devoured in brutal waste, as in the ancient days of half-civilized society.

If, on the other hand, while the Land-worker submits, on his part, to these privations and partial depressions, the Manufacturer, or Merchant-manufacturer, should obstruct his way to the market, or should forestal it, by loading it with foreign products, *which pay no taxes*, and should still insist upon a monopoly against the poor Land-worker, thus fettered and chained down, — if he should thus insist upon taking a portion of the Land-worker's profit, as of right given to him, and then purchase the rest at his own price, the Land-worker will not raise that surplus which he is not able to sell,
and

and must be content to substitute something in the room of what he cannot afford to buy; he must be content to make a homespun and a home-wrought manufacture for home use; and thus finally the Manufacturer will obstruct his own business, and destroy his own interest, at all times, in proportion to the extent to which his oppression is felt. Don't let the Manufacturer laugh at this representation as visionary: the writer of this paper hath seen times and countries where this has been a case in fact, where the bulk of the Land-workers have so manufactured for themselves; and although it were not the cheapest way of having manufactures, if they were to be purchased; yet, by employing the spare hands of their family, and filling up with labour *fragments of time*, which would otherwise have been lost in waste and idleness, the manufactures, although relatively dearer, came to their use absolutely cheaper and better made, than if they had gone to market for them. This is not certainly the wisest and best way in which manufactures, considering the community at large, can be conducted; but, if any part or class of that community *once comes to feel itself oppressed*, oppression will drive even wisdom to madness;

and if a necessitous incapacity of paying rates, rents, and increasing taxes, follows upon the steps of this oppression, this spirit will arise with a force that cannot be resisted, and will at length *make a virtue*, and a wisdom too, *of necessity*. It will be prudent, therefore, to discern and to distinguish, that as the system of depression exerted in extremes, will, by obstructing, depressing, and stopping the Land-worker's process of improvement, fall back with a recoil of ruin on the manufacturer himself; so must it in proportion to that depression, as it affects more or less the landed interest, have a decided tendency to undermine the prosperity of the Manufacturer himself; for however his foreign market may make a bustle, that bearing but a very small proportion indeed, to the home consumption, he will feel his main business sinking and diminished. If this long mistaken policy of giving unequal preference to the manufacturing class, by further and further privations and depression of the Land-worker, already nearly broken down by increasing rates, rents, and taxes, and by the increasing scale of prices of every thing, except of his own produce, continues much longer, this state of
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the Land-worker, which may to cursory reasoners seem visionary, will be found not removed at any great distance; a spirit of discernment may see a train of effects almost ready to come forward into event.

This state of the hostile rivalry which operates between the Land-worker and Manufacturer in a spirit of idleness and pillaging envy, is an humiliating view of the principles of the country, and of the principles of commercial policy, and it hath been still more aggravated by the misguided spirit of Government in various periods giving unequal advantages to one class, laying unequal burthens on another. From the time when Sovereigns began to think they should, and that of course they did understand the ways of commerce, that it was their interest to meddle with it, forgetting that the Land-worker is the basis of the system, the source of the process of the community; and not seeing that the true policy was to unite into one conspiring operation, the efforts of the Land-worker and the industry and skill of the Manufacturer, they have from that period, as uniformly as unwisely, as decidedly as unjustly, bestowed extraordinary pri-

privileges and preferences on the manufacturing class: and in order to force the interest of this their favorite by a profit, not its own, have kept down, depressed the interest of the Land-worker, taking by monopolies, prohibitions, and depriving regulations, part of his profit from him, raised by his own proper industry, to give it to the favored class, by which it was not produced.

One may say from reasoning, but experience authorises one to say, that this measure always tends in proportion to the degree in which it is exerted, to keep down and diminish the interest of the Land-worker, to relax and diminish the industry of the Manufacturer; to set his dealings on a false balance; and to nurture him up to the expectation of unequal and uncommercial profits.

The Land-worker, discouraged and feeling that the surplus profit of his labour is not his own, but taken from him to be given to another, will first or last learn to go no further in raising produce than he can make it his own and dispose of it as his own: he will not trouble himself to raise that which he cannot sell; he will not labour on that
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for which he is not to be paid. Nature will feel, and experience will suggest, that, as the proverb expresses it, *it is better to play for nothing, than to work for nothing.*

* The manufacturing class, fed and thriving by profits which arise not from their own industry, will naturally lean to external aid, not internal exertions; and finding first unequal, will acquire the habit of expecting exorbitant gains, while at the same time it relaxes of its industry, and falls into luxury.

From these self-obstructive measures so long pursued, both classes have received, each its peculiar hurt; the general industry of the community, and the absolute produce of the whole hath been kept down and diminished, and so far lost to the community; while the wealth, although under a momentary and partial deception, replete in relative accumulation, must feel in the

* One effect of artificial forcing of trade is that it creates a temporary profit, a forced abundance in parts, not arising from parsimony and industry, its natural source; traders grow wasteful and slothful, until finally they lose their trade.—De Witt's Maxims.

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end and upon the whole, an absolute privation, to the sinking both the revenue and power of the state.

It is however in these enlightened days to be hoped, that the truly commercial statesman, whether as Minister or Legislator, (for the writer of this addresses himself to both,) if he be truly wise on experience, instead of falsely learned in maxims, if he be firmly just on principle, will restrain this hostile rivalry, and by proper address convert it into an active competition, wherein each class shall by its own proper industry work out its own proper profit; will so harmonize all burthens and advantages amongst the different classes, that nothing but greater exertions of industry and superior skill shall derive down upon the one or the other greater and superior profits. He will raise for each an equal open market for the produce and the manufactures which their exertions shall bring thither, and give free circulation through the channels of reciprocal supply and consumption. He will, as the Censors of old in the Roman state are represented when they have done their duty, hold the balance even.

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To do this, under the present state of contending parties, will require the statesman's greatest skill, his truest wisdom, his firmest temper of justice. He will have to make a reform against rooted prejudices, against the false policy established, when these matters were not understood. He must withstand the alternate clamors of interested individuals, and even the menacing demands of conspiring bodies grown rich and powerful under the habitual enjoyment of unequal favors.

There never was a time when the discordant hostile rivalry of different classes at home, feeling some necessary privations, which the peculiar circumstances of the country occasion, were in such agitation: they do, as is commonly the case between the nearest relatives, alternately consider those who are nearest to them and most naturally connected with them, as the cause of each other's misfortunes. Those whom he will have to reconcile and unite as in one system, will press upon and clamor to him against each other: those who have been oppressed will call for relief and protection: those

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who have been accustomed to receive favors will demand the continuance and augmentation of them: those who have been too long fostered with partial preferences, will demand them as of right, and will of all others be the most importunate; they will come forward in combinations, ready, if they cannot seduce, to menace Government. The subject itself disguised and misunderstood, misrepresented and misapplied as it has been, will require a discernment that may penetrate to the very spirit of the business, as quite a new thing: these distracting claims, these confounding clamors must be resisted by an inflexible firmness of equity, such as,

Non civium ardor prava jubentium mente quatit solidâ.

If the commercial statesman (minister or legislator) wishes to do what is absolutely right in justice between the individual classes, what is best for the prosperity of the community, what is most advantageous to the interest of the state, he must mark the commencement of his new system of administration or legislature, with *a new system of commercial policy*. The spirit and the principle of governments, as commercial statesmen,

statesmen, have operated in that wise and cunning maxim of *sharing the calf in the cow's belly*. Their system hath been founded in axioms learnt by the ear, engrafted on authority, and rooted in habit; or on general maxims, which were the hasty conclusions of odds and ends of partial views, or the suggestions of interested seducers. These, uncontested and uncontroled, have for a long time been the constant ruling principles of commercial policy; while those, whose interests were to be governed by them, feeling them wrong, yet neither able to remedy or rectify them, have as constantly, to guard off their mischief, been in a constant course of evading them, by what is called contraband: so that law and commerce were by this system at constant variance; nor did the system depart wider from the facts on which it supposed itself to be grounded, than it did from common sense. It is scarce possible to describe it, in terms which are not ridiculous. When sovereigns began to interfere with commerce, they would *teach their gran'am to suck eggs*: they took some of their precedents from the wisdom of the prudent housewife, *who killed her hen, to make sure of the*

whole layer of golden eggs; and from the experienced gardener, who meant to *create to himself a monopoly of the fruit, by cutting down the tree*: they attempted to make circulation run up against its natural current, by stopping its course; and to make riches stand above the level, by a dam, whose property was to make them recoil below that level. They imagined they could create plenty, by cutting off the supply; and that they could make their neighbourhood rich, by *robbing Peter to pay Paul*. A few instances will explain this, and lead at the same time to the more particular object of this paper.

There could not be a notion more remote from truth, that had less foundation in fact, or that was more directly self-obstructive, than the ancient maxims which formed regulations about money; either those which lowered its value, while they kept up its denomination, or those which attempted to retain by law, money within a country, howsoever dear the nation paid for it, or how much soever it lost by with-holding it from its best uses. It was for ages established as a wise measure of policy, that money should
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be brought back in exchange for goods, although perhaps it was the dearest article our trade could receive in exchange, and to prohibit it from exportation, although it was perhaps that very article, which would, with the greatest absolute profit, pay for our purchases.

The value of money is always in the compound ratio of its security as a deposit, and of its uses. By lowering its intrinsic value, and by prohibiting its exportation at its current value, it ceased to be a deposit in foreign exchange, and this measure at the same time destroyed its uses. Those sovereign commercial statesmen, therefore, lowered the value of it at home, and forced their merchants to pay their balances in other articles, which cost more at home, and were of less value abroad; by which they continually encreased these balances wherever they were against them, and continually obstructed them in the payment. This was the wise way of making a State rich by commerce, and was received as an uncontrovertible maxim of commercial policy for ages. From this maxim, a series of general measures were derived, which
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all operated to depress domestic industry, to depreciate its produce, and so to obstruct circulation, as to make work employed only to overcome the friction of the machine of commerce, which should have been employed with profit to work its real powers.

There were times, and for ages continued, wherein a man, who should have dared to recommend to the Statesman the considering of money as an article of commercial barter and exchange, would have been looked down upon either as an inexperienced superficial ignorant, or as a wild visionnaire. Some Governments have, however, at length entirely, and some almost, freed themselves from this foolish mischievous measure, although I fear the principle still lurks in their ideas. The operation of it is to be traced in many other instances; although experience hath enforced wisdom in this one, relative to the prohibitions of exporting money, and such like obstructive follies. One would scarce think it possible, that such a principle, in such an enlightened age as the present, and in a commercial country too, could still exist, were it not
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found operating with all its power even in our own country.

Another similarly wise maxim of commercial policy drawn from a like refinement in absurdity, was the prohibiting of corn and grain from becoming an article of commerce; for this reason, because it was the food of the people; the very reason why all markets should have been opened to it, and a free circulation given to it, so as to encourage a never ceasing surplus. Yet the road to the market, and the market for corn and grain, was embarrassed and clogged with a multitude of obstructions and discouragements, which must of course raise the price and diminish the certainty of the supply; and finally to cut off all possible inducements from the farmer's hopes for raising a surplus, the sending that surplus, when the home-market was supplied, to foreign markets, was prohibited. It was become a maxim, that the Manufacturer and city Shop-keeper were to be encouraged by keeping down the price of provisions, and of the rude materials of manufactures; and the wise commercial politicians could find no better way of doing this, than by taking,

taking, under the name of law, but in reality by violence, part of the profits of the Land-worker from him, and giving it to the favored class, whose balance of profit became a false one, not raised by their own industry and skill, but made up with that of others. The direct operation of this folly was, that the productive powers of the land were not wrought to what they were capable of; the supply suffered a constant defalcation, and at times risked a dangerous privation; instead of having the pre-emption of an abundance, which circulated as a *living magazine* of food when wanted, but convertible into riches, when it was a surplus more than was wanted.

Whenever the feeling, rather than any reasoning, hath emancipated Government from this curious policy, so as to remove this self-obstruction, corn and grain have continually increased in quantity; the market hath been uniformly and abundantly supplied; the price hath regularly diminished in proportion to the quantity; the nation experienced the benefit of a circulating surplus, which exported, brought in a return

turn of a great balance in positive wealth. Here again the practice hath been changed by law, but the principle still lurks in several mischievous notions, which check the benefit that would derive from an universal freedom.

Nothing but the reference to the caprice of unfounded principle, which differs from itself at some times, as it doth from truth at all times, could account for the not prohibiting the exportation of *tin*. The very reason in truth and fact why its exportation ought not to be prohibited, ought, according to the foolish maxims above noticed, and which the reader will have still stronger reasons to notice, ought to have operated for its prohibition, namely, that it is, and because it is, a peculiar staple commodity of this country—perhaps the profits arising to the Duke of Cornwall upon its exportation may have paid its way, and saved it from the self-obstructive oppressive tyranny which hath arrested other articles.

Although tin may, brass cannot be exported. We must not expect any reason for this in the

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uniformity of the wisdom of the commercial statesman, but that in one case the Duke of Cornwall's interest, and the boroughs of the tin country, were more powerful than the pewterers; and in the other case the braziers and Birmingham Manufacturers had better interest than the brass-founders. Let this paper now suppose for a moment, that tin had been prohibited from exportation upon the reasoning of the pewterers, who might have alledged that it is a raw or rough material, which they could work up, and that therefore they ought to have the monopoly of it against all foreigners. Now under this state of the case, we will suppose the same fact to have come into event, that has actually come into event, that the use of pewter hath been in a great measure superceded by the almost universal use of stone and earthen ware: Would the commercial statesman still suffer the pewterer to retain, as under a sacred maxim of policy, his monopoly of the tin?—Would he suffer it to lie waste and dead upon the producers hands, a dead loss to the nation at large, and a privation of revenue to the state? I will neither answer, nor reason upon the question—I will leave it on the consideration of the mind of those whose duty
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and whose interest it is to consider propositions of this import.

This wretched policy fixed, about the time of the Restoration of the family of the Stewarts, its mischievous speculations on another of our staple commodities, on our wool; and converted what to that time had been temporary regulations, wisely made, and judiciously executed in the moment which called for them, into a permanent system, which by its excess of iniquity hath wrought a wholesome alterative into a destructive poison.

About 400 years ago, there being no trading Woollen Manufacturers in England, our wool, a staple commodity, went abroad in its unwrought state : but from a concurrence of various events, King Edward III. saw an opportunity, and seized the moment, of transferring the woollen manufacture from Flanders, into England, and of establishing it there. To give therefore a sudden check, at this moment, to the foreign Manufacturer, who depended entirely upon our wool; to give to our own Manufacturer a pre-emption of the raw material, and a pre-vent of the manufacture; to

give a kind of forcing aid to the growth of the English manufacture at its first taking root; he wisely prohibited our wool from going to the foreign market for a time, that is, * *till it were otherwise ordained*; but this prohibition was not absolute, nor did it extend to that surplus which the home market could spare, for in the 12th and 13th year of his reign, (i. e. 1338 and 39,) he granted dispensations of this in consideration of money paid: And although in the 14th year of his reign, he ordained, that no man was to export wool *before Michaelmas*, the reason was not, that wool should not go abroad to the foreign market, but because *the King* himself would, in that interval, *export 20,000 packs*: And, again, although in the 27th year of his reign, (i. e. 1353,) subjects were prohibited exporting wool, yet merchant strangers might.

In the 4th year of the reign of Henry VII. who, from what he learnt of commerce in Flanders, during his exile, understood the policy of it better than any other Monarch, it was or-

* 11th of Edward III.

dained,

dained, during the space of ten years, that no one, except actual Manufacturers, should buy any Berkshire wool before * the Assumption of our Lady, nor any merchant for exportation, before the Purification.

By these measures, a proper pre-emption was secured to the Manufacturer, and a proper preference given to the native Wool-buyer; but this very regulation wisely as justly allowed the sale and exportation of the surplus at a given period, when the pre-emption must have had its full operation, and when the home-market was supplied, namely, after the Assumption, and after the Purification. These wise regulations secured to our Home Merchant-manufacturer advantages which gave him the means of being first at the foreign market, and of maintaining an ascendant there; encouraged the Land-worker to raise an abundant surplus of wool, which the Home-manufacturer commanded, while he wanted it, and which, when not wanted at home, was, by being sent abroad, converted into absolute wealth to the nation, and revenue to the state.

* 15th of August.

Again,

Again, if at any time a particular sort of wool was wanted in the home market, fit for any particular species of manufacture, that sort was kept in the home market; as in the 6th of Henry VIII. when it was ordained, that no Norfolk wool, fit for worsted and stammins, be exported. There was at that time no injustice in this, nor any injury done to the grazier; because the home market at that time took all that was grown, as appears by the price. This measure was not founded on that foolish mischievous maxim, that no English wool was to go to the foreign market, but other wools, not wanted for worsteds and stammins, not being included in this prohibition, might be exported as an article of commerce: for in 1522, in the 22d of Henry VIII. c. i. no wool was to be bought for exportation, before the Purification of our Blessed Lady.

During the reign of Queen Elizabeth, our woollen manufacture continued in a progression of prosperity; and yet no law in her reign prohibited the exportation of wool. "True it is," (saith W. Smith, 1646,) "that after the wools
" multiplied beyond what the manufacture at
" home

“ home took off, then, with licence of the State,
 “ they were permitted to be transported.”

During the operation of this spirit of commercial policy, our manufactures increased and prospered ; the Land-worker found an assured market of an increasing demand, and the poor were employed ; the wages of the Labourer and Manufacturer were rated according to the price of victuals ; and the value of wool was three times the price it is now. It was *a mark* per tod of 28lb. when, in the scale of prices, wheat was eight-pence the bushel, a goose four-pence, and a hen one penny halfpenny.

At the Restoration of the family of the Stewarts, these measures, which had been hitherto by temporary regulations, that had done much good and no hurt, as they were executed, were converted into a permanent system of depression of the Land-worker ; giving at the same time to the Merchant-manufacturer the command of the grazier's property, a share of his profit, a monopoly against him in such market as was allowed, and taking from him all market and sale of
 the

the surplus, which the home market did not call for, and would not purchase. It became a system, that all wool, at all times, however abundant the quantity, or however depressed the price, whether it lay unsaleable at the home market, or whether it was rotting in the grazier's wool-chamber, was to be absolutely prohibited from being exported.

By a transcript of the several temporary regulations ordained and dispensed with, enacted for a time, or, if general, repealed at times, prior to this destructive epoch; and comparing by a like transcript, the laws establishing and strengthening this system of oppression since that time; by comparing the natural scale of prices of all other articles with the artificial depressed prices of wool, notwithstanding the advancing ones of the woollen manufactures; this unnatural system of injustice, of false and self-obstructive policy, may be detailed in a series of facts, which have been felt by the Land-worker in his depression; and although not felt or understood by the Statesman, operated to a diminution of that prosperity and wealth of the nation, which would otherwise

otherwise have been much greater ; and must finally, if carried and extended further in the same spirit, operate to an actual privation, that must verge to mischief. This system hath been examined and explained, in a manner to which nothing can be added, by the Rev. Mr. Smith of Lincoln, in his *Memoirs of Wool*, by a gentleman, the most laborious collector, the most dispassionate reasoner, with a comprehensive knowledge of commercial policy, and with an honest zeal, wishing to emancipate the community, and the oppressed class, from the shackles of tyranny under which its commerce hath so long been oppressed. It would be well if the commercial Statesman, be he Minister or a Member of the Legislature, could have time, before he attempts to legislate for this business, to read and consider well the whole of this work : if that cannot be, to read at least those chapters at the end, which form a recapitulation of the whole *. It will be sufficient to the purport of

* The writer of this Paper does not mean to recommend the scheme which Mr. Smith proposes. It was the best which he thought the then times would bear.

this paper, to quote the testimony and opinion of a fair authority ; of one who is no partizan in the case, but who gives his opinion as the result of an exact and scientific investigation into the nature and causes of the wealth of nations. I mean the opinion of Dr. Adam Smith.

“ In England, notwithstanding the flourishing state of the woollen manufacture, the price of English wool has fallen very considerably since the time of Edward the Third. There are many authentic records, which demonstrate, that during the reign of that Prince, towards the middle of the fourteenth century, what was reckoned a moderate and reasonable price of the *tod*, or 28lb. of English wool, was not less than ten shillings of the money of those times, containing at the rate of twenty pence the ounce, six ounces of silver, *Tower weight*, equal to about thirty shillings of our present money. In the present times*, one-

* Such might the average equitable price of our best wool be stated, at the time he wrote ; but it hath since sunk, with a most rapid decrease, to nine and six-pence, nine, and even eight shillings the *tod*.

“ and-

“ and-twenty shillings the tod may be reckoned
 “ a good price for very good English wool. The
 “ *money price*, therefore, in the time of Edward
 “ the Third, was, to its money price in the pre-
 “ sent times, *as ten to seven*. The superiority of
 “ the *real price* is still greater; at the rate of
 “ six shillings and eight-pence the quarter of
 “ wheat, ten shillings was in those ancient times
 “ the price of twelve bushels of wheat. At the
 “ rate of twenty-eight shillings the quarter, one-
 “ and-twenty shillings is, in the present times,
 “ the price of six bushels only. The proportion,
 “ therefore, between the *real prices* of ancient
 “ times, and of modern, is as twelve to six, or
 “ *two to one*. In those ancient times, a tod of
 “ wool would buy twice the quantity of subsist-
 “ ence which it will purchase at present; and
 “ consequently twice the quantity of labour, if
 “ the real recompence of labour had been the
 “ same in both periods.” But at the rate of
 the present depressed price, it would purchase
 three times the quantity.

“ This degradation (he goes on) both in
 “ the real and nominal value of wool, could ne-

“ ver have happened in consequence of the natural course of things : it has been *the effect of violence and artifice.*”

There is not, in the system of life, a proposition more decisively true, more clearly demonstrable, both from reason and experience, than that manufactures and commerce, when operating by their natural principles, create employment for the labouring people ; and giving circulation to labour and profit, create wealth to the community. So long as they enjoy, and permit to the other classes of the community, equal and reciprocal liberty, they not only employ the poor, but create a market for the Land-worker's produce of food, as well as of materials of the fabrique. So long as they operate by these principles, they give source to population, and thus again constantly extend the demand at the Land-worker's market : nay, the effects of these beneficial operations go still further ; they create a market for the land itself, and can send money to meet it, if it comes to such market. Every reason, therefore, which respects the individuals of a country ; every regulation which
hath

hath regard to the respective classes of the community ; every policy which can have true and just reference to the community, and to the wealth and power of the State, ought to influence the commercial Statesman to give every encouragement to manufactures and commerce ; so long and so far as this can be done consistently with equal justice and reciprocal liberty to the other classes of the community ; so long and so far as they operate to the producing the happy effects which are the ground of this reasoning ; so long and so far as they truly maintain the labourer, so as that he can subsist himself and family, according to the price of victuals and lodging, and keep himself off the parish : so long and so far as they create, and really and truly give an open and free market to the raiser of their food and materials : so long as they grow rich by fair industry and constantly improving skill, creating wealth to the nation, and power to the state.

These are the true grounds whereon manufactures and commerce have a right to claim the encouragement and support of every other
class

class of the community ; have a right to call for the aid of Government : it is by reasons derived from these principles, that they may properly and justly apply to Administration or the Legislature for assistance ; for particular favours, for pre-emption of the raw materials, and for all other preferences at the market.

When they are in the possession of all this, in which I wish to see them remain, let us see how they, in their turn, reason about the Land-worker and labourer, in the subject of Wool, which is the more immediate object of this paper. I am afraid we shall find, that those advantages, which were so promising in theory, those of employing and subsisting the poor, those of creating an increasing and advancing market for the produce of the Land-worker, are forgotten, neglected, and vanish in practice ; whilst maxims and practices, the very reverse in operation and effect, are substituted in their room. These maxims, henceforward avowed, are, that the produce of the Land-worker, both food and raw materials, shall come to market, under such restrictions, as the Manufacturer and residents of the great towns

towns shall advise and persuade Government to make: that when at market, it cannot be permitted to be bought and sold, as the nature of a multifarious distribution may demand it, but as these classes shall destine it; first, that they may have the pre-emption, and next, that they thereby depress the price; and in fact, that they may have the monopoly of the whole. Finally, that in the article of Wool, the Grower ought not to be permitted to sell, at any foreign market, that surplus of his produce, which the home market will not take off. And in order to keep down depressed the price of what he is permitted, thus fettered and monopolized, to sell, the Manufacturer hath managed to get regulations established, by which wool*, from other countries, from lands not taxed, shall be brought into competition in the English market against the English wool, locked up by a monopoly, and lying under a load of taxes; to commodities, under such different circumstances, what would be a good, nay, a thriving price to the one, would be to the other a ruinous depredation: and yet, to this oppressive rival is the English wool sub-

* From Ireland.

jugated—That system, formed for the English wool-market, which first delivers the commodity there to an absolute monopoly, which doth not take off the whole which is at market, but which always leaves, as *a dead load* on the Grower's hands, a *surplus unbought*, either because the manufactures do not want it, or because the Wool-buyer keeps an advanced stock in hand. After the monopoly hath taken off what quantity it chuses at its own price, it will not take off the rest *at any price*; and yet this surplus, more than the home market wants, is not now, since 1660, permitted to go to the foreign market. One would think, that all this was sufficient to answer the most avaricious wishes of the favoured class, in lowering the price: but it is not so; nor indeed is the thirst of avarice, any more than that of a dropsy, ever satisfied. There is a superadded act of tyranny, established by law, that wool and yarn from Ireland, from lands not paying, in proportion to ours, any taxes, may be brought into the English market, as rival to our wool and yarn, at all times, whether the market be already overstocked or not, and whatever be the depression of the prices

prices of our wool, and whether the English commodity which is there, can, at any price, be sold or not. This is a system of tyranny and oppression, which cannot be paralleled by any example to be produced in any other country in the world, not in the most despotic !

While the mother country, England, *claimed and exercised* a monopoly of the produce of its subject and subordinate provinces, and particularly that of tobacco, so long as that was obliged to come to the English market, under this monopoly ; a spirit of justice in the Nation, and spirit of wisdom in the Government, provided, that the tobacco should not be forestalled or rivalled there ; that, as it was confined to that market only, it should have a free and open market there. To prevent any other tobacco, even our own growth, coming to rival it there, an act* of Parliament prohibited the planting of tobacco

* This law still remains in force : I would some years ago have moved its repeal, but was desired by some persons who had some vague notions of negotiating with America, not to move it, as it might be a something in hand to nego-

tobacco in England, not only by heavy penalties, but giving a power to the Sheriff of each county to root it up, and take it as forfeited.

On this principle one might have hoped; but alas! our commercial policy hath been actuated by caprice, or suffered under the seductions of partial avarice; one might otherwise have hoped, that when the English wool was confined to the home market only, and came there under a monopoly, that that market at least would not be suffered to be forestalled by foreign wool or yarn brought there at prices infinitely below the scale which the rents, rates, and taxes will permit ours to be sold at. On the contrary, the plan of introducing, is avowedly to lower both the price of the English material, and the wages of the labouring manufacturer the spinner.

Besides the depredations which an injurious rivalry, so constituted, makes upon the Land-

ciare with. Why the poor farmer, to whom a little tobacco is always useful, should still remain under this useless wanton prohibition, I cannot conceive.

worker,

worker, I wish to suggest to the commercial Statesman, some account of the loss which the nation at large suffers by this system, as unwise as it is unjust ; and this in an instance of one port only. The quantity of woollen yarn, taken on an average of several years, imported into Yarmouth, Norfolk, is annually six thousand packs, each pack is 240lb. that is 1,440,000lb. in all. This is spun of a wool fitted for stuffs and workeds, the very sort of wool grown in the marshes of that county, and in quantity approaching to what that county could itself supply, but by which it is so far superseded in its sale. Here, besides the loss by depression of price, is the first article of actual loss of the sale of so much produce, at 6d. per lb. is 36,000l. in a county which could have supplied it. Again, taking an average of the different prices of spinning different sorts of yarn, and stating the twelve-penny yarn ; this yarn, thus brought from Ireland, is a loss of labour to the country of 72,000l. per annum ; at 3d. per lb. combing, is a loss of 18,000l. more ; so that here, by this importation of yarn from Ireland into Yarmouth only, the country suffers a loss of labour to the amount of 90,000l. annually.

nually. Is this measure calculated to prevent the exportation of wool, or to keep down oppressed its price below the scale of all other things ?

Is this a measure to employ and maintain the poor ?

Is this creating a market for the Land-worker's produce ?

On the contrary, whatever may have been the principles assumed, and reason given in theory, why manufactures and commerce should be fostered by the landed interest, and why Government should give them an aiding protection, namely, the benefits which they derive down upon the labourer and Land-worker ; yet, when these classes come to state their special and specifick interest, then the reasoning runs, that the lower in price the produce of the land can be kept down, the lower the wages of the labourer can be reduced, so much the more advantageously for the public will our manufacture be exported, and go to the foreign market. That the Master-manufacturer and Merchant may more advantageously export them, is undoubtedly true : but how is
the

the public benefited by these advantages, centering in the conglomerated riches of a few individuals, while the labouring * Manufacturer can scarce earn bread, above the point of starving; while they and their families are daily falling upon the parishes; while the poor rates increase, and are from three to four times higher in the manufacturing countries than elsewhere; while the grazier is robbed of near two thirds of the fair equal profits of his produce; and while the landlord finds that not only the value, but the rents of his land, must sink, while the prices of every thing which he must buy are rising. Does this state of manufactures and commerce subvert the individual; diffuse wealth to the com-

* The writer here refers to facts of notoriety in the West, where *hunger hath broken through stone walls*; that is, through all bounds, and where it hath been found necessary to hang poor wretches, whom they should have so employed, as that they might subsist. He refers here to facts of another sort in Suffolk and Norfolk, where the poor had rather seek their bread by picking stones in the fields, than by spinning for the manufactures. If the alternative of starving or hanging is that, to which the labouring manufacturers think themselves reduced, surely manufactures have deviated from one main end, in contemplation of which Government hath always given them a preferable support, viz. that of employing and *maintaining* the labouring class.

munity

munity at large ; and render the State powerful in the body of the people ?

If the manufactures, and the export of them, do, or are disposed in practice, to derive the benefits above described in theory, upon the labourer, farmer, and land-owner, then as they thrive, the labourer and labouring manufacturer ought to be able to live so much better in proportion ; the poor ought to be subsisted by employment, instead of poor-rates ; the grazier and farmer ought to find a *better market* for his produce ; and the landlord find his rents rise and well paid at the same time. What comfort is it to these general classes of the people to be told of the flourishing state of manufactures ; of the prosperity of commerce ; while they feel themselves in a state of private depression. Instead of relief or comfort, it becomes an aggravated insult on their oppression ; for, in proportion as they are depressed in the wages of their labour, and in the prices of the produce of their land ; the prices of every thing which they must live by, are rising upon them, in consequence of *riches being monopolized*, instead of being diffused in general circulation.

The

The true commercial policy, if it be policy to interfere at all, which I doubt, is, by the mildness, the justice, and the liberty of the commercial Statesman's system, so to arrange matters, that the general profits of the whole manufacturing and commercial operations should, while every individual employed in them, and every class connected with them, feels and enjoys their due proportion of the benefits, be diffused in an equal uniform circulation of wealth throughout the whole community, and ought in part to be drawn off by natural secretions into revenue, which should form the power of the State.

One more retrospect of this scene of desolation, the Land-worker's market, and I have done.— We have seen, that his produce comes to sale under numberless restrictions; when at sale, is delivered over tied and bound to a monopoly; which is the case of that part of his produce which he can sell. But there is, occasioned by various changes in the fashions of the country, a considerable surplus, which accumulates upon his hands, and which he cannot sell at the home market at any price; and which, yet neither
useful,

useful, fitted* for, nor wanted by the English manufactures, he is not permitted to send to the foreign market.

The almost universal fashion in England of now wearing linen, has superseded the use of woollen. The women, the lowest as well as the highest, who not many years ago wore woollens, in the greatest parts of their dress, are uniformly and universally clad with linen, cotton, or silks, in every article of their dress. The men wear in general linen, cotton, and silk waistcoats, breeches, and stockings. The wear of Osnaburgs in frocks and breeches, is almost general amongst the labouring class of people; and if they have a holiday waistcoat, it is of linen or cotton, or silk and cotton; and even shalloon and other stuff linings to coats, are out of fashion. Poplins, crapes, and bombazeens, which used to be considered as an essential part of a mourning dress, are now in great measure disused. And I have heard, that the regimental stockings of the soldiers, which were formerly woollen, are now

* The Wool-buyer's agent, Friend Huslar.

linen or cotton, as cheaper and better. In consequence of this decrease of the home-consumption of woollens, which is the great market, the English Manufacturers cannot, on any supposition of the foreign market, (for the mode of wearing linens, cottons, silk and cottons, has taken the same turn there also,) work up all the wool which was grown as a supply to a branch which is gone. This is the cause of that accumulating surplus which the wool-growers find lying dead at the end of every sale upon their hands.

What will the commercial statesman, minister, or legislature, do, or not do with this? Will he leave it at liberty to go to market, where it will sell, or will he still confine it under the old oppression of the monopoly, although the monopolists neither want nor * can take it off. If he doth this, and will not permit the producer to carry it to market, nor to turn it into money, the producer must pay his rent in kind, must pay his

* If they will venture to assert that they can, I will venture to assert *how they* may dispose of it.

taxes in wool. If either the Government or the landlord distrains, they will still be puzzled.

I will here suggest a matter which, although it may appear ridiculous at the first sight, will yet be found to contain more serious matter than meets the eye.

Suppose Government to receive for the land-tax, the surplus wool, which after Lady-day lies on hand unsold, at the current price of the last markets; and was then, as Government did in the times of the Edwards and Henrys, to become the exporter of it: the farmer would be relieved, and Government would receive three shillings, where it now receives one, by the difference of the current home-price at which it was received, and the current price in the foreign market at which it would be sold. This would more than make good all deficiencies in the land-tax: Government would receive three times the revenue, and yet the land be so far from burthened that it would be relieved. In these times of distress when it becomes so difficult to find sources of revenue, one might think that the bare naming of this, would recommend it to
some

some consideration. All this is not to be argued, nor do *I* recommend it, unless I can first establish the truth and the wisdom of letting the surplus wool go to the foreign market, after the home market has had the pre-emption and is fully supplied.

It will not be required to produce reasons, why a commercial nation should export every article it can spare, which will send home in return a profit. There needed no arguments to convince Sancho Pancha, who had a good stomach, why he should eat when a good dinner was set before him; the ingenuity exerted, was to find out reasons why he should not eat this or that article, at length, no one article, which would have proved to have been reasons of *starvation*, had he not had at hand the magazine of his own wallet.

The arguments of commercial reasoners are in many cases, and relative to many particulars, perfectly just, as founded in truth and fact, why this or that article under this or that predicament should not be exported.

Corn and grain, for instance, although a most beneficial article of commerce, ought not to be exported, when the price thereof marks that it is wanted at home: when it is no longer wanted at home, the wisdom of our present corn laws permit the *surplus* to go abroad even with a bounty.

Wool, in like manner, although an article which would produce very great commercial profit, should not be permitted to go abroad, so long as it is either wanted, or can be wrought up, at home: nor then neither, until the home-manufactures have, by this surplus wool being kept back for a certain time, got the means of being first at the foreign market: nor ought it even then to go abroad *without a duty*, which must give a decided preference to the home-manufacturer above the foreign one.

As the real point of this subject lies in the reasons, why it should not be exported, this paper proceeds to examine these reasons.

A reason given in former times, confidently
and

and repeatedly insisted upon, is now no longer urged, since the extended information of the nation knows it to be a palpable falsehood, that the foreign woollen fabriques could not be carried on so as to come into commerce, if they were deprived of our wool : yet still the monopolists wish to have it believed, that the French would rival us in the woollen manufacture, if they were permitted to have the English wool ; that their success would entirely depend on this circumstance. The fact is, that they have rivalled us, and beat us out of the market, in those articles in which they do not use any English wool ; and their success derives from quite a different cause.

But to set the truth or falsehood of this assertion, to set the actual fact on its right basis, this Paper will proceed to state, and from authentic documents, what species of wool the French Manufacturers *do use* in their fabriques, and more especially in those sorts in which they have rivalled us.

“ The woollen manufactures of France em-
 “ ploy

“ ploy in part the native wool of the country, in
 “ part foreign wool imported into it.

“ Spain alone furnishes an export of wool,
 “ to the amount of more than sixty-thousand
 “ bales; the half of which is imported into
 “ France. These wools, according to their dif-
 “ ferent qualities, are suitable to different sorts of
 “ fabriques. Each bale made up for exporta-
 “ tion (which is different from the small bales
 “ in which the wool is brought down from the
 “ country to the port) weighs from 250 lb. to
 “ 300 lb. (the mark pound.)

“ *Spain is the only country* from whence the
 “ wools for the fine cloths are exported. The
 “ best sort comes from the kingdom of Castile
 “ and of Arragon; the wools of Navarre are
 “ coarser than many of those of France. The
 “ pastures of Saragossa in Arragon, those of Se-
 “ govia, and of the province of Leon, furnish
 “ the wools which are in the highest esteem; these
 “ again have their different values, as even these
 “ parts vary.

“ There

“ There is another sort of wool which they call
“ Sorie and Albarazia, which is a very ordinary
“ sort, and employed only in the fabriques of
“ the lower standard.

“ Sweden and Denmark furnish extraordinary
“ good wools; yet they are not comparable to
“ those of Spain and Portugal. The wools of
“ Portugal are nearly of the same quality and
“ fineness of those of Spain. There is imported
“ by way of * Marfeille, the wools of Con-
“ stantinople, Smyrna, and Alexandria.

“ There is good wool in England, principally
“ that of Canterbury; but as there is a prohibi-
“ tion against its exportation, *little of it comes to*

* There are great quantities of coarse wools exported from the Black Sea, and various parts of the Turkish dominions, and from Africa. There are also some very fine from the Levant. Some very fine (equal to Portugal) from Tunis. Some so fine from southern parts of Italy, that when I was amongst the Manufacturers of the South of France, they were going to try an experiment, if they could not substitute this in parts in the stead of Spanish wool. The wools of Tunis and Portugal are chiefly used in making the knitted red caps, called *maroquins*, and in hosiery.

“ *France.*

“ *France.* There are two distinct sorts; one
 “ that is soft and short, which is carding wool
 “ for cloth: the French do not aim to obtain
 “ this sort. The other is extremely long and
 “ strong, and of a thriving growth, but rather
 “ harsh and elastick. This, the combing wool,
 “ is suited for the warp of different stuffs, serges,
 “ tammies, camblets, calamancoes, &c. such as
 “ are made at Rheims, Amiens, Lille. Our
 “ fabriques * know little of the wools of Hol-
 “ land and Flanders. These provinces do not
 “ produce sufficient for their own manufactures;
 “ besides, those of Holland being prohibited
 “ from exportation, come even dearer than those
 “ of England, at the same time that they are
 “ inferior to them. We will not enlarge further
 “ on the nature of the English wool; ’tis not
 “ material; for, on account of the difficulty of
 “ obtaining it, † our Manufacturers *employ none,*
 “ *or*

* Notwithstanding what is here said, great quantities
 are sent from the banks of the Scheld, particularly from near
 Locheren, to French Flanders.

† Here is a fact in direct contradiction to the asserted
 facts, that great quantities of our wool are used in the
 French

“ *or scarce any* in our woollen fabriques. As
 “ we have many fabriques which *use intirely*
 “ *the wool of our own growth*, it will be next
 “ proper to describe these.

“ The best are the wools of Berry, on the side
 “ of Iffoudun, which is named of the plain of
 “ Vatan. These are ten or eleven per cent. higher
 “ value than the wools of Bourges. The wools
 “ of Auxois in Burgundy, and those in the
 “ environs of Abbeville, are tolerably good.

“ There are many forts of wools in Langue-
 “ doc ; that of Bezieres is the most esteemed :
 “ it comes the nearest to that of Portugal, and
 “ is finer than that of Iffoudun. The wool
 “ of the diocese of Lodève, which is named
 “ *Ruffe*, that named *Longue Rouviere*, and that
 “ of Montagne of the diocese of Agde, are very
 “ ordinary, especially the *longue-rouviere*. The
 “ wool of Corbiere and Narbonne, which they

French manufactures. And here is a proof in point, that
 the present laws of England, prohibiting the exportation
 of wool, are sufficient, as far as laws can be, to their in-
 tended purpose.

I

“ call

“ call *Clap*, are of the same quality as that of
 “ Bezieres, named *Quarante*. The wools of the
 “ plain of Salangue in * Rouffillon are in great
 “ esteem.

“ The wools of Sologn are not so fine as that
 “ of Berry: the best are those beyond Orleans,
 “ on the side of Vanne, Ides, Viglain, Vilmur-
 “ lain and its environs. The fleece of these
 “ weigh but from one to two pounds. The best
 “ of these wools are beyond the forest of Or-
 “ leans, on the side of Ville-neuve-aux-loges:
 “ those on the side of Estampes are rather in-
 “ ferior. The fleece here weighs from two to
 “ four pound, but this is not nett.

“ The wool of Champaign is soft and pithy,
 “ and generally very dirty, especially about the
 “ neck.

* I shall here add what I picked up upon the spot, that
 the wool of Rouffillon is of three inches staple, and is, as all
 other wools are, divided into three degrees of assortment.
 The finest sells from 50 to 60 sous the lb. The second sort
 from 45 to 50. And the third sort about 24 sous the lb.

“ The

“ The wools of La Hogue, the most northern
“ part of Normandy, are as fine as those of
“ Berry ; the Manufacturers of Cherbourg and
“ Valogne buy them by the fleece.

“ The wools of Cotantin are not so fine as those
“ we have just mentioned : those of Bassin are still
“ more ordinary.

“ The wools of Andennes are of the most
“ ordinary sort ; those beyond Bouillon still
“ worse. These different sorts are worked up at
“ Doncheri, Poix, and other small manufactories,
“ which are not known but in their own neigh-
“ bourhood.”

Thus far the French memorial. I shall add
some more particulars, not only as to the nature
of wools employed in the manufactures of France,
but to the price of it as collected by myself on
the spot, in the south, eastern, and northern parts
of France, and as given to me by a perfectly well
informed friend, respecting the western parts.

The very superfine French cloths are made at

Louvieres and Abbeville, and are entirely of Spanish wool, except the selvages.

The cloths made in Languedoc for the Turkish, and in time of peace the Chinese trade, which they call *Londrines*, are of Spanish wool. The best cloths which they make at Rheims are of Spanish wool.

There are many sorts of coarse wool brought from the Black Sea, from Constantinople, from Asia, from Syria to Marfeilles, chiefly used in making mattraffes, which employ great quantities of wool.

The laine pellade, or that which is shorn from the skin after the sheep is killed, cost from 40 to 50 livres the quintal of 100 lb. The clipped wool, in all its dirt and grease, as it comes off the sheep's back, from 50 to 60 livres per ql. washed 24 sous per lb. The wool of the Black Sea, like hair, from 35 to 40 livres per ql. African wool from Barbary, about 40 livres per ql. All these are carded for mattraffes, and in the operation lose at least two thirds of the weight at which they

they are bought. When thus dressed and carded for use, they sell from 50 to 55 to 60 livres per ql.

The Spanish wool, which they import in gross at Marseilles, costs 100 petits ecus per quintal. The Tunis wool the same: the richest and best part of this is used in making the knitted caps called maroquins, for the Turkish market; the rest is employed in hosiery.

The wool of Portugal, used in the same fabriques, is, washed, 60 sous per lb.

There is some very fine wool brought from Italy, almost equal to the Spanish. Some of the great Manufacturers had a speculation of introducing this into their fabriques of Languedoc.

I have mentioned above the wool of Roussillon. The wool of Narbonne is nearly as fine as that of Roussillon, but more cottony, and of a shorter staple. The price to the first buyer is the same at that of Roussillon, with this difference, the latter pays a duty, on entrance into Languedoc,

doc, of 4 or 5 livres the ql. On the former there is no duty.

Notice has been taken of the wool of Bezieres above; this is bought in the fleece, which as it comes off the sheep's back, with all its dirt and grease, will weigh from 5 to 8 to 10 lb. the fleece, but when washed and dressed, 100 lb. of the lightest will not produce above 30 lb. of wool, and 100 lb. of the more ordinary sort, not more than 26 lb. this is bought at 3 livres, 3s. 15s. to 4s. 17 sous the fleece.

The wools of Pefenas in Languedoc, on the side of Montagnac, are bought in the fleece, at nearly the same price; they are somewhat less fine, but produce in the dressing more wool.

The wool of the sea-coast is heavy and coarse, and serves only for the common drapery.

The wools of the mountains of Montpelier, and de Somieres, are of three sorts; 1st, equal to the wool of Pefenas; 2d, less fine; 3d, common

mon stuff. First, washed, is from 33 to 34 sous per lb.

The pound of wool compleatly dressed and spun, costs in Languedoc about 3ls. 5 sous per lb. the small lb. of 12 oz.

The ordinary cloths of Rheims are made of the wool of the country; the second best, of the wool of Berry; the superfine, of Spanish wool. The wool of Berry costs (I suppose dressed, &c.) 3 livrés, to 3ls. 5s. the lb. The wool of Segovia, costs them 5ls. 6s. per lb. of 18 oz. half washed.

They make in Languedoc three sorts of cloths; the superfine for the Turkish market; a second sort, which is for the home-wear of people of condition; and a coarse cloth at Lodève, for the clothing of the soldiers.

A good spinner will earn about ten or twelve pence a-day.

A weaver at Rheims is paid 5 sous an ell,
can

can weave 7 or 8 ells a-day (there, cloths are half-ell wide); so that he can gain from 35 to 40 sous, or 20 pence English, a-day.

Wheaten bread, the finest white, is 3 sous the lb. of 16 oz. : such bread as the Manufacturers eat, 2 sous per lb.

Butcher's meat, about 7 sous per lb. and garden stuff extremely cheap.

The fabriques of Rheims, besides the sort called *Draps de Rheims*, are imitations of a Silesian drapery, and called *Silesies*, imitations of our Wilton, and called *Wiltons*, in a thousand varied forms of spotted and striped. They make also casimirs, which they name *Marocs*; also drugget and flannels, and blankets of all sizes, from 20 livres to 40 the piece; they have also a considerable fabrique of hosiery.

They have also fabriques of a second sort of cloth at Elbeuf and Sedan.

“ The cloths of Julienne, and the superfine
“ fabriques

“fabriques of Sedan, as well in scarlet as in other
 “bright colours, and in black, are fit only for
 “the rich. There are also fine mixed cloths
 “of Van-Robais and Andelis. The Louviers
 “suit the middling people, who are at their
 “ease in their circumstances; the Elbeuse are
 “best suited for the workmen and mecha-
 “nics; Chateaurouge furnishes livery cloth;
 “at Romarantin, Issoudun, Lodève, they make
 “cloths for the military clothing. There are
 “still inferior coarser cloths, made for the wear
 “of the peasants and country-labourers.”

From this detail of the fabriques, and of the
 wools used in these fabriques, *the fact comes out*,
 that they are established, supported, and carried
 on in several branches, even to rival the English
 at market, without the use, or any mixture of the
 English wool.

There can be no doubt that the English wool,
 the combing wool, is smuggled over to France :
 I shall perhaps in the course of this Paper be
 able to mark some of the smugglers; it is chiefly,
 if not solely, used in the fabriques at Abbeville,

and some small quantity at Rheims, and perhaps at Lille, in the stuff and worsted goods made there, the druggets, camblet, and calamancoes, and tammies, as also in the warp of their other light cloths. But are these the branches of manufactures in which the French rival us? And inconsiderable as these fabriques are, in comparison of the supply of a great kingdom, inconsiderable as the quantity of English combing wool used in these is in proportion to the British consumption, I cannot but wonder that the monopolists have ventured to make such a rout about it; nothing but their perfect assurance, that the implicit simplicity of the country gentlemen will submit and not know how to contradict them, could encourage them in this. Let, however, this smuggling have been hitherto what it may, the late commercial treaty will put a more effectual stop to it, than all the penal laws which can be devised: for, under this treaty, the French merchant will be able to import from England all these kinds of fabriques in greater variety, and on more advantageous conditions, than he can purchase them of the French Manufacturers; will be so able *to compleat his assortments* for trade, in a way,

way, and at a price which must necessarily check, if not totally annihilate, these fabriques made of or mixt with English wool.

From this state of the fact of the French wool-len manufactures, whose rivalship we were so taught to dread, the ruinous danger of the smuggling English wool to France, is all reduced to the supplying one town in only a part of its manufactures, and in a part too which could never hold up its head against us, and must be ruined as soon as it comes into open competition with us.

Will the monopolists say, *some* of them perhaps *can tell*, to what country the English wool, if it were permitted, could go, so as to become dangerous to the manufactures of England?

When I was at those places to which the English wool, of which they make no secret, comes, I learnt that none comes in the fleece; they receive it divided into sorts which suit their purpose. If they had the whole fleece, great part of it would be a burthen on their pur-

chafe; but those parts of the fleece, as I learnt, which the French market does not want, and would be a burthen and disadvantage to it, is separated before it is smuggled over; and that only which the Manufacturer wants, goes to him in that way which is calculated the best to enable him to rival our home-fabriques.

I suppose no one will suspect, nor will the monopolists venture to assert, that the Wool-grower divides or staples it; we must find out some other agent. However it is wrong, that any wool whatsoever should, at any time whatsoever, go to the foreign market, this certainly is the most mischievous way in which it can go,

I have said above, that a monopoly, however it may be advantageous to the selfish interests of avaricious individuals, is hurtful to the principles and spirit of that industry whereon these operations ought to be founded: it sets them off on a false balance of profits greater than their own proper exertions raise; it nurses them up in the habit of receiving an unequal share of the general profits; accustomed to the ascendant in
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the market at home, where monopoly operates, the spirit of their dealing expects exorbitant gains in the foreign market also. The effect of this is, that with all the advantages under which they go to market, they have not been able to keep up the competition with the French merchant in the Turkey trade, but have lost that entirely. An English merchant is capable of acquiring the ascendancy in any competition with foreign merchants, by the long credit he can give, by the low profits he can afford to deal for; because it is not the rate of this or that profit, but the accumulated extent of many which creates his returns. This is the case in all branches of business where commerce goes on in its natural course; but where any branch has been fostered up by a monopoly, the dealers in that branch learn and actuate a quite different spirit; a spirit, which, while it relaxes and remits the industry with which manufactures should be carried on, excites the expectation of advanced profit. This is not the spirit which will make its way, when brought into fair, equal competition.

There

There is another disadvantage which the monopoly of the grazier's wool, given to the manufacture, hath necessarily derived down upon the Manufacturer, and inhabitants of the great towns.

The grazier used in general to pay his rent by his wool: when he bought in his lean stock for grazing, he looked to the wool as the first article of his return; that being now so sunk in price, his sheep will not pay for the grazing, will not return the stock which he laid out in the purchase, and leave the grazier a living profit, unless he is paid out of the carcase. This hath of necessity raised the price of mutton almost double within a few years, and of course, the price of all other victual coming from the grazier. That this would be the case, was told to the Manufacturers in a letter written to them, by the writer of this, in 1775. All the manufacturing countries and the great towns feel this mischief, and without looking to this monopoly against the Wool-grower, the true cause of this evil, without removing the cause, they have been forming fine speculations to remove the effect. Let them
plan

plan what measures they will, they may rest assured, and had better sit down content, that the price of provisions must keep up this price. They may indeed by injudicious regulations enhance the prices and obstruct the market, but they can never lower them, until the monopoly established against the wool is dissolved.

Having stated the oppression which the grazier suffers under this iniquitous system of monopoly; having stated the inconveniences and disadvantages which it causes to fall back upon manufactures in general; having shown how it contradicts and counteracts every principle, and every reason on which manufactures should receive preferences and advantages from Government; having shown how this is a permanent cause of reciprocal privation to both classes, to the Land-worker and the Manufacturer, and of absolute privation to the whole community; not being able to find any one reason, neither by my own investigation, nor in what I have heard, or am able to learn on reading, why, after the home-market hath had the pre-emption, and is supplied, the surplus of
our

our wool, remaining on hand, should not be exported to the foreign market: I will proceed to suggest a measure, which is founded in the principles of commercial policy; is consonant to all our laws and police, prior to 1660, respecting wool; is similar in every provision, operation, and effects, to all our laws enacted to regulate the exportation of corn and grain; is what no fair and honest Master-manufacturer can object to; is what, having been suggested and explained to some of the first Master-manufacturers and Merchants in the woollen trade, appeared just and reasonable to them.

I have repeatedly said, that the Home-manufacturer ought to have the pre-emption, and every advantage and preference at the home-market, consistent with equal justice to the Land-worker, which can give him the ascendancy over the foreign competitor.

On these grounds, I say, that no wool, be the price (high or low) what it may, ought to be exported, until the home-purchaser hath had the pre-emption, and is fully supplied; on these grounds,

grounds, I say, that no wool ought to be exported, except that *which is left as a surplus*, and is at a price which marks that there is no market for it at home. Full time after the clipping ought to be given for this operation, and no wool ought to be exported before Lady-day next after clipping. This is the spirit of the police and the provision made in our laws prior to 1660.

On the same ground, I say, no wool ought to be exported, even at that period, if the price in the fleece was more than per pound :

But that, after having given near six months pre-emption to the home purchaser, and after the home demand hath been fully supplied, if there remained at Lady-day a *surplus* on hand, whose price in the fleece was below per pound, and the home-market would not take it off at that price, on notice given that the exportation would take place, that then, *this surplus* of wool should be permitted to be exported on paying a duty of per hundred weight.

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This

This measure so regulated, secures every preference and advantage to the home Manufacturer, which even a favorite (as a favorite) could desire, unless he is decided, having unjustly enjoyed it so long, to be satisfied with nothing but the iniquitous and destructive monopoly. This gives him every preference, and a temporary monopoly in the pre-emption; this gives him the ascendant balance against the foreign Manufacturer and Trader, and enables him to be first at, and to forestall the foreign market. I will here address myself to the general body of the Manufacturers and Woollen-merchants in the title of this paper, *Live and Let Live*. I do not address myself to that part of them who are the conductors of the monopoly; they, like the dog in the manger, will not let others live upon what they cannot apply to their own living. The Manufacturers in general, and the Merchant-manufacturers, wish to live and thrive and get all the profits they can in their business, but they do not wish to see others starve; to these, therefore, I say with confidence, *Live and Let Live*.

On these grounds, I will venture to recommend

mend to the commercial statesman that simple truth on which his measures as a system can alone be established, *Keep the balance even* amongst the several classes.

I could wish to advise the country gentlemen, if I could flatter myself that I had any of that weight with them which I once had in these matters, and could suppose that they would have spirit and system enough to act up to the advice, I could wish to advise them to come to decided opinion, That until it is permitted to export under a duty such wool as, after Lady-day next ensuing clipping, shall lie on hand as a surplus, which the home-market will not take off, their common rights are infringed, and they do not enjoy equal liberty and reciprocal justice with the Woollen-manufacturers and merchants; and hereupon to come to a fixt resolution, to be systematically and unvariably pursued, to obtain justice and to recover their rights. But, alas, they have a certain feel, as one sees in all their resolutions, that will not suffer them to raise their exertion or even their hopes beyond that of defending themselves against any further depredations or oppressions.

If the monopolists will but leave the yoke as it is, they make a merit of submitting to it, and put themselves on the ground of compassion, hoping that the monopolists will think that the present galling oppressions are full sufficient, and, almost in the words of a compromise, saying, they will bear them without complaining, if the monopolists will not add a heavier and a still more galling load on them.

To any class of people who reason and act upon this plan, no real friend can give any advice that will not appear visionary and too enterprising, that will not alarm their fear of being drawn into some danger. The consequence of this manner of acting hath been, that the conductors of the monopoly, seizing every and omitting no occasion, have constantly repeated their attacks, and will constantly repeat them, to press more and more upon the country gentlemen retiring; and will on every occasion gain something, either in the contest, or by compromise: for the spirit of not acting beyond the defensive, always invites fresh attacks.

At one time, the Wool-growers do not wind to please them, although I know no law that obliges them to wind their fleeces at all, if it was not their custom so to do : at another, they did not mark their sheep so as to satisfy these monopolists ; and on a late occasion the nature of the wool and its staple, to which the graziers bred their sheep, did not suit them ; at least they made this a pretence to lay the ground for having the direction of the grazier's breeding and feeding stock, and to put the wool under a kind of assize.

The * monopolists, considering the issue of the last contest with the landed interest as having made a breach, are now drawn out in full force to enter sword in hand. I wish, I had almost said I hope, that the country gentlemen may not only be able to defend themselves, but may have spirit to fall out upon the enemy, so as to

* I use this expression as I do, to distinguish this hostile body from the Manufacturers and Woollen-merchants in general, who have more equitable sentiments, and act upon more liberal principles.

recover some of the many out-works of their rights which they have given up.

I had communicated to me last year, the plan of the attack, draughted in a parliamentary bill, which it is said is to be brought forward into effect this session. It is a plan, which, drawing together and combining every unjust and injurious mischief that hath been inflicted on the Land-worker, gives a new point and poison to the dart, and fills up the measure of iniquity.

Upon the vague and unfounded suggestion, which neither states facts on proof, nor ascertains the crime, nor brings the commission of it home to any convicted criminal, upon bare suggestion of the crime and of the criminal, who yet from the nature of the crime, as far as it is described in the preamble of the bill, cannot possibly be the criminal, it presents to the Legislature A BILL OF PAINS AND PENALTIES, *sequestering* the woollen property of all the Wool-growers residing within miles of the sea-coast, converting his offices, or even his house, if his wool is there lodged, into a sort of King's warehouse,
liable

liable to be entered and inspected at all times; and without pay or reward, but, on the contrary, under burthensome, ensnaring, and cruel penalties, making the poor grazier warehouse-keeper to what should be his own property, prescribing an incessant variety of office-duties to be exactly observed by him, under the risque of suffering the pains of felony. If the crime could be proved and affixed to the specific criminal, or criminals, the law prescribes already a method of prosecution, and annexes very severe punishment to the conviction; but, instead of proceeding to discover or prosecute any *actual criminal*, the monopolists, in the draught of their bill, upon *bare suggestion* that * all the Wool-growers in the land residing within miles of the sea-coasts *may possibly become criminals*, sequester all their wool, and present a *Bill of Pains and Penalties* as against convicted criminals. I will not do so much dishonour to one of the most respectable classes of the community, as to undertake a pro-

* The Scotch will have here to attend how this must more strongly affect and how much further penetrate into a country having an indented coast, such as their part of the isle consists of.

visional defence against a suggested possible crime; I hope they will consider the suggestion as beneath their resentment. I cannot but suppose, however, that Parliament will feel sensibly the indecency of the address made to it, on such groundless suggestions and false pretences, and which dares to pray such unconstitutional provisions to be enacted, contrary not only to the common rights of the subject and his property, but contrary to the law of Parliament.

Although the framers of this bill have not, as was their duty to have done, ascertained the specific crime, and brought it home to the actual criminal, against whom this bill of pains and penalties should be enacted; I will, with their leave, from their own description of the various ways and forms by and under which wool is fraudulently exported, and more especially as it confirms an information which I received in 1775, and which I at that time communicated to a large body of Manufacturers in the North, I will, with the leave, and by the assistance of these draughtsmen, try if I cannot bring the matter a little nearer to the point of fact.

These

These framers of the bill state, as one of their suggested facts, that *wool in very different forms* from that in which it comes from the grower's hands, in forms of "coverlits, waddings, or "other manufactures, *or pretended manufactures*, "made of wool slightly wrought up, or other- "wise put together, so as that the same may be "reduced to, and made use of again as wool," is fraudulently exported. This agrees with the information I received in 1775, and with what I learnt in France, namely, that wool is not chiefly imported into that country from England in the fleece; but divided into the sorts which they want: Now *these waddings, these pretended manufactures*, so skilfully put together, which is the * chief and principal form under which the great smuggling supply of wool to France is conducted, neither are nor can be exported by

* The writer will not here deny, that the smugglers of spirits and brandies may, and do, pick up here and there a few pockets of wool in the fleece, as back carriage. But this supply must be desultory and irregular, snatched at lucky intervals, and the most inconvenient and expensive way in which the French can have it: the other is the regular, the convenient, the least expensive.

the Wool-growers. It must be wrought and thus put together by Manufacturers more than ordinarily skilled in the flubbing and working it to that particular point. The Wool-growers cannot employ these : Who are the employers ? And who afterwards export it, and how is it exported ? These are questions which the draughtsmen of the bill will find inconvenient to answer. I shall, however, for I have an equal right with them to use suggestion, if I had no better grounds, endeavour, in the course of this paper, to point out where to look for the answer.

The preamble of the bill, which states *the grievance to be remedied*, as far as it goes to ascertain it to any precise form and fact, states that wool is fraudulently exported in the forms of *coverlits, waddings, and pretended manufactures slightly put together* : this fixes the act of the crime on the Manufacturers and their employers, totally clears and exculpates the Wool-grower *from all possibility* of being concerned in this crime, or in the commission of it. To make the provisions of the bill conformable to the remedy required, regulations ought to have been brought

brought forward to prevent these Manufacturers, and their employers, from exporting these *pretended manufactures*. And yet this bill, passing by all regulations respecting the conduct of these Manufacturers and their employers, to whom the crime described by the draughtsmen of the bill is brought home; and yet this bill, passing by the real remedy, is brought forward A BILL OF PAINS AND PENALTIES against the Wool-grower *as a supposed possible criminal*, sequestering his property of wool, &c. &c. &c.

The draughtsmen of the bill would wish Parliament, led aside by decoy pretences, to think that *these coverlits, waddings, and pretended manufactures*, go abroad in casks, cases, firkins, &c. &c. hoping it may adopt regulations to intercept them, where they will not be found; and to pass by and neglect provisions against their being smuggled under packages, wherein, though they may not be suspected, they will be found—IN BALES.

This matter will be brought to its true test, if any member will move in the committee to

insert after the words casks, cases, &c. [*and bales*] and in the latter part of the bill will move to insert a clause containing regulations of inspection when any bales of woollen goods are made up, and some check and examination as to their exportation. If a clause to this purport and effect is not made part of the bill, and the bill should pass into an act without it, the Wool-grower will find himself and property delivered over at discretion, and at the mercy of the monopolist, which is all that the bill aims at; it aims not at the prevention of smuggling wool; that will go on as usual, smuggled *in bales* under the forms of *coverlits, waddings, and pretended manufactures, slightly made up and put together*. The moving such amendment in the preamble, and such clause in the body of the bill, will bring the matter to its true test. If the draughtsmen and presenters of the bill revolt at it, if they grow warm about it, and get into a passion, it will indicate where the monopolists are fore: it will mark who they are that are fore on this point: I could almost guess who they are that will be the most fore and most angry.

If

If it were not for this fact, which goes to the quick, they could not, after having thrown out such outrageous suggestions against a whole class of the most respectable individuals, winch at the suggestion that they, and not the Wool-growers, are the smugglers.

After having framed such an intricate ensnaring system of regulations, with such pains and penalties annexed, against the Wool-growers, they will not, in common decency, shrink at the proposition of regulations founded in fact, and become, now the fact is understood, so much more necessary as to the attention to, and inspection of the making up woollen bales. This is a measure of commercial police so decisive and clear, and of such equal justice, while the Wool-grower is to be put under such pains and penalties, that I will not mispend the reader's time in arguing it.

I will not here enter into any discussion of the many strong provisions of the bill ; these must undergo in the committee, and indeed in every successive stage of it, very critical and close contest. It is impossible that country gentlemen
should

should not be fully instructed on these points. One drift of these affected provisions, apparently framed against the exporting wools to foreign parts, are solely calculated to obstruct, and as much as in them lies, to prevent the transportation of wools from one part of England, where the manufactures are sinking under even a monopoly, to other parts of England, where the manufactures, carried on a larger scale and more liberal plan, are in the most flourishing state, and can and do work up the wool of these parts who want to keep it by violence of law. This is perfectly understood in the North.

It is worth observation, and I think cannot escape those who have the executive conduct of the finances, that the draughtsmen of this bill have, by the various duties, visitations, inspections, attendance to proceedings before magistrates, to multitude of certificates, permits, returns of sales, and transportation, with all the particulars both of the buyer and seller, and every transaction of the sale, and of the transfer of the property sold: of the carriage or transportation of it; with all the permits, cockets, bonds, re-
turns

turns of cockets and bonds: in these the draughtsmen of the bill have, by requiring the officers of his Majesty's Custom and Excise to keep annual accounts of all the wool grown, fold, and transported: they have, I say, laid out work enough for them, if they had no one thing else in the world to do. How these officers, who have already now more to do than they can do so well as they wish, are to undertake this business for the monopolists, no man acquainted with business can conceive, Unless, upon the application of these monopolists, Government will create a new establishment of offices, a new and numerous appointment of officers appointed to this sole business, the regulations of this bill can never be carried into effect.

There is one curious clause, making the hundred or district, through which wool exported is carried, liable to fine and penalty; totally misunderstanding and misapplying the principle of frank-pledge.

I did mean here to have proceeded to examine how far this selfish churlish principle of prohibiting

prohibiting the surplus of our wool from going to the foreign market might operate in our commercial transactions on some future occasion; or be affected by operations which foreign states might in return adopt; how far it may tend to interrupt that general free intercourse which, because we have always hitherto enjoyed, we still expect to enjoy from others, whatever course we ourselves take.

We expect to receive without prohibition the hemp and naval stores and iron of Russia and Sweden: we expect to have an unrestrained importation from Portugal of their cottons, gums, &c. &c. also from France, of their cottons and raw silk: we should be shocked at the remotest idea of a prohibition on the part of Spain *of its wools*: and yet we withhold from other countries even that surplus of our wool, which the home-market will not take off.

I am most decidedly convinced that France is not in that want of our wool for the carrying on their manufactures which the monopolists give out; nor that our withholding it has been
any

any great deprivation to them: on the contrary, I think it has been an occasion of advantage to them, in putting them upon the giving more attention to their own, and studying ways of working it up. If it was of that essential use to them that our monopolists state, there are many ways by which they might oblige us to let them have it.

Of 60,000 bales of wool which Spain exports annually, France alone takes 30,000: England imports from Spain annually about 10,000 of these bales *. Now if France could not carry on her manufactures without English wool, as we certainly cannot carry on the fabrique of our superfine cloths without Spanish wool; she has it certainly in her power, in many ways, to oblige us to let her have it. Would it be impracticable to France, through the interest she has with Spain, through the fraternal connection there is between them, by means of the family compact, by the present state

* I have, upon an average of some *late years*, stated the quantity of Spanish wool imported into England at 10,000 packs, at a round sum: this exceeds my own private information by 2000 packs at least. I should rather wish to rest this matter on my own information, and state the quantity 8000 packs, or bags, per ann. at the rate of about £.200,000.

of their commercial interconnections, to get Spain to ordain a like prohibition of her wool being exported to England, as England maintains against all other countries, upon condition that France, in addition to the 30,000 bales she now takes, would engage to take the 10,000 bales which England otherwise would take? France might then tell our Manufacturers, that, if they cannot carry on their superfine fabriques without Spanish wool, You may have it, but you must have it of us, and we will be paid for it in English wool, value for value. Luckily, however, for us, this matter of the French so much wanting our wool, on which the monopolists have always laid so much stress, is not true. The French do and can carry on their woollen manufactures without English wool.

Notwithstanding all this, some address and management towards foreign nations, under our present humbled situation, will be necessary in continuing this system of prohibition. I could carry these considerations much further, but I guess that the reader will see from the nature of them, I may as well finish here.

F I N I S.

P O S T S C R I P T.

I HAVE said, in page 94, that the measure of the proposed bill was perfectly understood in the North. It was draughted by some West-country gentlemen : in the several proposed regulations of it, they had forgot, or, from some other reason, neglected to make provision for the transport of wool from one part of England to another. The dealers and manufacturers in the northern parts, conceiving the actual provisions of the bill, as proposed, to be intended, or at least to operate, as restrictions against their purchasing wool in the western parts of England, where a declining manufacture doth not work up (but would yet monopolize) all they grow in those parts ; and against their transporting it to the northern parts, where an encreasing manufacture can take off that surplus ; so far forth opposed that monopoly against themselves. But the western draughtsmen of the bill, in order to take off this opposition, and to enlarge the bottom of

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their interest, have explained themselves—that they did not mean the monopoly to operate against these dealers and manufacturers. So the northern and western deputies, meeting each other's ideas, met in a committee of deputies, and have accommodated matters ; have made a new draught of the bill, so as to exempt any dealers or manufacturers of wool from the restrictions of a monopoly ; and have united the weight of their understanding and their interest, to establish a monopoly against all the landed interest of England and Scotland, within a belt of ten miles from the sea coast, quite round the island. If the landed gentlemen within this belt of England, and more especially of Scotland, do not also, as wisely in their generation, unite upon this occasion, and call to their aid the landed gentlemen their neighbours, although not within this belt, they will be no longer in possession of the produce of their own property ; it will be SEQUESTERED ; it will be locked up in warehouses : their own houses, if it be locked up there, will become warehouses, liable, *on any pretence, at all hours,* TO BE ENTERED AND VISITED. An embargo will be laid on their markets ; or if they, under the restrictions

their own escape, by giving up these one or two counties as a sacrifice of a part for the whole. *They stuck together* (as the proverb expresses it), *like the men of Marham, when they lost their common.* This mischief has taken deep root, and is now, with its creeping runners, extending its poisonous growth quite round England *and over Scotland, with double extent.* If the country gentlemen did not take up the alarm before, when they saw the danger at a distance, now it is come home to them; what they would not *see*, they must now *feel*; and as "*feeling has no fellow*," the matter now will rest on that feeling, which is better than a thousand arguments. For *feeling is the truth.*

Although it is most ardently to be wished that the landed interest, now the matter is brought to its issue, may unite against the principle; yet I cannot raise this wish up to hope. They will be told that the whole system of our laws and policy in this matter have given up the principle long ago. It is not a matter now to be disputed, much less to be opposed.—The draughtsmen and supporters of the bill will appeal

peal to their *candour*. And, as the country gentlemen are a candid, reasonable people, any reason will serve the turn. The monopolists will coax and laugh at their candour—And, I fear, the probable event of this business will be, that the country gentlemen will admit the principle : and meet their opponents upon, what will then be, unequal ground ; namely, on the provisions necessary to carry this principle to its full extent and effect. Under these apprehensions and fears, I shall, in this postscript, examine some of these provisions, not so much in the tenor, for they are at present but proposed heads of a bill, as in the purport of them.

The belt of a monopoly is to be drawn quite round the island of Great Britain, “ *within ten miles of the sea coast.*” Notwithstanding the severe, cruel, and arbitrary restrictions, which by the bill are proposed to operate against the persons and rights of property of a most respectable class of people, living within this belt, the line of it—within the circumscribing of which—private property is to be *registered* in order to be next *sequestered* ; within which, private houses
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are to be registered as warehouses, and liable to entry and visitation ; a line, within which certain acts, which a man hath a right to do respecting his property, are to be henceforth converted into *felonies* ; his property liable to confiscation ; and himself to be transported : this line, of such importance to the rights of person, to the rights of property, and within which they are to live, and property is to be held, under different laws (taking away their rights) from the rest of their fellow-subjects, is neither described nor defined, otherwise than by general vague words, “ *within ten miles of the sea coasts.*”

Is it to be a distance of ten geometrical miles ? If it be, it will be extended much farther than is now understood, or than, I hope, is meant in England ; such a line drawn round the indented line of coast of Scotland, will include the greatest part of the property of that part of the kingdom. It behoves the country gentlemen, and representatives of those parts, to look narrowly to this. Have any steps been taken to measure out these distances, or are they to be enacted

enacted without being so measured? Secondly; it may be asked, (these questions upon trial of the fact must be asked,) is this line and distance to be measured by *statute miles*? or by the vague and random idea of *computed miles*, as the crow flies, from the sea coast? Or is it to be measured by some one, and which, of these three modes, by some road to the sea-coast at large, where there are no ports, creeks, or haven, or rivers? This would be useless, except to the purpose of vexation. If, upon an actual indictment, the culprit pleads, that the act, for which he stands indicted, was not done within ten miles of the sea coast—is the issue to be decided by a geometrical measure, how is this to be done? Provision must be made in the bill, that owners of the lands shall permit that the persons who are to measure it shall come upon the lands. Is the *terminus à quo* at high or low water mark? These are questions of admiralty jurisdiction; and next, who are those persons who are thus to measure it? Again, how far up any creek, river, haven, or port, are the banks to be called sea coast? These questions are essential to the ascertaining whether a man
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has been guilty of a felony or not, because the act for which he stands indicted, must be laid and proved to be *within ten miles, so specifically ascertained* as to decide in judgment whether the act was a felony or not. This is a matter of too much importance to be left thus vague and undecided: and yet the bill goes on creating felonies within this undescribed, undefined line. It is worth while, on such an important occasion, to inquire whether even parliament itself, whether any absolute power, can create a jurisdiction by such undefined and general words—I'm sure that no jury, upon their oath, could find a verdict, where the place was *in or about* this vague line.

There can be no sense or justice in any description of this line, but by *ten statute miles, by the nearest road to some port, haven, or creek*. In which description must be included, the *specific bounds of the sea-coast*, within such port, haven, or creek.

In the next place, as to this description, by the words *sea-coast*, will any man, in his senses, and
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meaning fairly, say, that a sea-coast, where there is no port, creek, or haven, is so likely a place for clandestine exportation of wool, as Hull, London, Exeter, Bristol, Liverpool, &c. *to which* wool may be carried, without risque, as they are ~~not~~ within ten miles of the sea, and *from whence* it *may be* (I do not here say it is) exported in casks, barrels, pipes, tubs, boxes, chests, cases, and BALES also, unless all these packages are examined and searched at the port; or inspected and sealed at the time and place of packing.

A case has arisen in the minds of the deputies, draughtsmen of the bill, which they have provided for so far as respects themselves, viz. “ in conveying of wool, &c. by land-carriage, “ or by inland navigation, from and to different “ parts and places more than ten miles distant “ from the sea-coast, it may frequently happen, “ in the course of its conveyance, to be carried “ within ten miles distance.” If this wool belongs to a dealer in wool, it is sufficient that he sends with it *an account* or *way-bill*, signed by himself; nay, even if he doth not send with it such an

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account

account or way-bill, he is to be sufficiently cleared and indemnified, if he hereafter sends a receipt from the place at which it was delivered, being more than ten miles distant from the sea-coast. Now, wool belonging to a wool-grower or farmer, not only hath not this provisional liberty, but if he hath not a sufferance, signed by some officer or his deputy, (observe, not a way-bill signed by himself, but a sufferance signed by an officer) his wool is confiscated; and he, if convicted of this heinous crime, of having been unavoidably led, by the course of the road, within ten miles of the sea-coast, is a felon, and to be transported as such. Here then, by this bill, the draughtsmen have fully provided, that "*some people may more safely steal a horse, than others look over a hedge.*" Now, in carrying of wool from several parts of Lincolnshire, not within ten miles of the sea-coast, to the wool-halls at Bury and other parts in Essex, not within ten miles of the sea-coast, it will so happen, in order to cross the several rivers by the bridges, that the carriers will be unavoidably led within ten miles of a port, and perhaps under some constructions of the law, (though not by others) within

within ten miles of the sea-coasts; must they, or must they not, although not living within ten miles of the sea-coast, nor carrying their wool to places within ten miles of the sea-coast, have sufferance, because the road, in some part of it, edges to within what may, by one construction of the law, be called ten miles of the sea-coast? And if they have not, must they become felons, while they do not think, according to their judgment, they are within ten miles of the sea; and while they can obtain no information from the law, or from any lawyer learned in the law, or while no person acquainted with the country, and having read the law, with such reference to their knowledge of it, can tell them whether they be within this distance or not? And they risque the danger of being transported as felons, while the wool-dealer jogs on at his ease, with his way-bill, signed by himself, or only says he'll send back a receipt.

The officers of the customs, excise, and salt duties, who by this proposed bill are to administer and to attend to the execution, and to carry about with them *a portable bureau* to make all the registers, entries, copies of various ac-

counts, &c. &c. &c. are, in general, persons that are fully employed in their more immediate duty, and in various places as that duty calls them. Yet the farmer, grower, or owner of wool, is within six days to find them out, wherever he can find them, to deliver to them a register of his wool, and where lodged, under the penalty of 100l. If within this period the farmer finds this officer, the officer, however more essentially to the public service employed, is either to give the farmer a certificate *immediately*, or the farmer must wait the officer's good leisure to get it. Oh, but it hath since been kindly provided by the amendments of the deputies *for the convenience of the farmer*, that a justice of the peace may, and is required [quære by whom] to appoint a deputy or deputies, [quære to whom? to what officers? and how many?] to execute the same duties. And now that this bill hath taken the appointment of deputies out of the hands of the treasury, who is to pay them? Some salary will be required, as this deputy is to do many things *gratis*. Is the treasury to pay as many deputies as justices please to appoint? or, (as the draughtsmen of the bill have the manner

ritime counties, prisoners at discretion) will they make these appointments *a county charge?*

When the farmer, grower, or owner of wool applies to this officer or his deputy for a sufferance, the officer, let him be employed howsoever he may in the king's business—is to leave off that, and immediately to set about making out a sufferance, describing all the particulars of the case required by the bill, is to enter into a book a copy of this, with all the attendant circumstances. But neither the farmer nor the officer hath yet compleated his business; the farmer is to go again in search of the officer; (and who will say how many farmers may be doing this at the same time?) and is to deliver to him an acknowledgment that the wool which was removed by sufferance hath been received. Which again the officer is to enter in a book.—A case may arise in this particular transaction, wherein the officer is to enter into a long detail of examination on evidence, and to write all down in a record book, to be kept also for that purpose. I only mention this
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here to show how compleatly the custom-house, excise, and salt-duty officers may be employed in this new business,* to the entire neglect of the king's business. I shall have occasion to take notice of this matter in another view.

This is not all ; the officer has still more business to transact with the wool dealer — In some cases the wool dealer must have a sufferance to remove wool, and this case must be examined into and recorded. This the officer is to do immediately upon application, and to leave off doing his proper business. He is to receive the return of the sufferance, and record it. He is to enter into a book the certificate which the wool dealer hath obtained from the quarter sessions—And besides many other things of this kind which he hath to do, of all which he must

* The Commissioners of the Treasury will (they certainly ought) refer this matter of so much extra-service being ordered for the officers of the Customs and Excise, to the Commissioners of those respective Boards, to examine and report to the Treasury, whether those officers of the Customs and Excise can possibly execute this new work without neglecting their proper duty.

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keep a journal, register, or record, he is to keep an account of all the wools within ten miles of the sea, where lodged, when and where-to removed—an account of the wool dealers' stock, purchases, and sales.

He has the same or a like routine of duty to do respecting all the transactions of all the fell-mongers within ten miles of the sea, as well as an account to keep of their stock, sales, and purchase.

A custom-house officer is made judge of what live stock is necessary for every vessel that sails, as to the article of sheep. He must, therefore, examine into the nature of the intended voyage, the number of sailors and passengers which are to go on board—and according to his judgment he is to grant licence for, and to see to, the putting those sheep aboard. As this measure is now to be enacted throughout all Great Britain, some clause of exemption respecting the sheep taken on board the king's ships is necessary, or the king's commanders and sailors may
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all incur the penalty of being transported as felons for putting their live stock on board.

If a wool-grower's servant, by whom he sends his wool with a sufferance, shall either have neglected to get an acknowledgment of the delivery, according to the conditions of the sufferance, or hath been imposed upon by the person to whom he delivered it, which he may very easily be, especially if he cannot read; or if the person to whom he delivered the wool hath given him an improper and insufficient one, or refused to give any; or if the poor fellow should any way have lost the sufferance; the farmer who sent the wool, if he cannot give an account of these defaults, TO THE SATISFACTION *of the officer, or his deputy*, which, in most cases supposed, it is impossible he should be able to do, then the farmer becomes liable to be tried as for a felony; while the person to whom the wool was delivered, and who did not return any, or a good and sufficient acknowledgment of the receipt, and with whom the whole fault lies, and who may have neglected or refused to give a proper acknowledgment of the receipt of the wool, with a fraudulent

dulent intent of clandestinely exporting it, is only to be fined five pounds.

The wool-grower is to specify in his notice of removal where the buyer's warehouse is, which the dealer or buying manufacturer is not obliged to tell him, which yet he is by the bill obliged to know and specify. He is also to specify *at what port* the buyer intends to ship his wool, which the buyer is not obliged to tell him, and most likely would not, especially if he means clandestinely to export it, no provision for this being made in the bill: the seller will certainly know by his bargain where he is to deliver it; but that does not come up to these cases. The officer is to examine into all this, and grant his sufferance accordingly: and if the wool-grower cannot inform him of all these particulars (which he cannot do but from inspiration), the officer may refuse to grant the sufferance; nay, I do not see how he can grant it.

What the wool-growers in general must be reduced to the necessity of doing, to secure themselves against the danger of becoming felons in the ordinary course of their business, shall be (if this

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bill

bill passies) explained to them on a future occasion; so that they may escape the snares of this law, and that the law-makers may be found to have made *a rod for their own breech*.

Besides all this vexation and danger here contrived for the wool grower—the officer is erected into a judge over him, taking and examining and recording evidence; and without a jury, if the case is not explained TO HIS SATISFACTION, finding a kind of presentment whereon trial for felony may ensue. Here is both work enough and power enough in all conscience for such an officer or his deputy; and yet this important and interesting duty is but a kind of extra business, out of the ordinary course of his office.

If this bill passies into a law, as now amended and extended by the meeting of deputies, no farmer can employ his family and servants; no parish can employ their poor; no cottage family can employ themselves, in carding wool, and making it into yarn; or can buy it, and carry it to the wool-comber's, and back to their own houses or work-houses to spin it, without a sufferance.

ferance. No person can buy, or keep by them, wool, -with which to make their beds and mattresses. If this bill is to pass, it must be hoped that the country gentlemen will take care to secure this poor privilege to the country, in like manner as to the *manufacturers for sale*. And under a conviction of the necessity of some such provision, the following clause is suggested for consideration :

“ Provided always, and be it hereby declared,
 “ and it is hereby further enacted, by the autho-
 “ rity aforesaid, that nothing in this act shall
 “ extend, or be construed to extend, to the pro-
 “ hibiting, or in any wise preventing any person
 “ whatsoever from manufacturing wool into wool-
 “ len goods of any sort whatsoever, either for
 “ their own use and for that of their family, or
 “ for sale : or to the preventing any parish, coun-
 “ ty, or district, from employing their poor in
 “ the carding, combing, spinning, or working
 “ of wool ; nor to the prohibiting or preventing
 “ any such persons, as herein aforesaid, from pur-
 “ chasing and carrying to their own houses, to
 “ the work-house, to the carder, or to the wool-
 “ comber,

“ comber, without a sufferance, any quantity of
 “ wool, not exceeding two tods, sending or car-
 “ rying therewith a note, specifying the owner,
 “ and, if bought, the person of whom it was
 “ bought, the places to and from which it is
 “ carrying, as also the quantity ; any thing in
 “ this act contained to the contrary notwithstand-
 “ ing.”

If the wool-grower is shut out from his market,
 (as by this bill, if it passes into a law, he will
 be) if a monopoly established against him sets a
 price upon his wool, which he cannot afford to
 sell it at, so as to pay his rent, his rates, and his
 taxes, and live by it ; he must turn manufactu-
 rer for his own use ; he must work up, and wear,
 and lie upon his wool ; he must leave off the
 custom of winding up his fleeces ; he must learn,
 which will be soon learnt, to break and staple his
 wool for sale. The country will find no diffi-
 culty in getting wool-breakers, and even weavers,
 at reasonable wages ; for, depressed as this class
 of people are at present, they will be ready enough
 to come to any place where they can maintain
 themselves and family, by such reasonable wages

as they cannot now get. But the explanation of these matters, as well as of some further measures, will be reserved to another place and occasion, if this bill passes into a law.

Some explanatory provision will, I should suppose, become necessary to exempt sea-bedding, which is generally made of wool, from the penalties of this law.

I shall not, in this postscript, enter into any consideration of the regulations respecting the dealers and wool-staplers; because if the draughtsmen of this bill are really in earnest to prevent the clandestine exportation of wool, they know very well the means which this class of people have of doing it, and how to prevent it.

The regulations prescribed in the bill for the ports, &c. are according to the usual and necessary forms. The bill supposes, upon suggestion, that all the farmers and graziers within ten miles of the sea-coasts would be smugglers of wool, if they were not restrained by the provisions of this bill. May not I, upon a like suggestion, found-
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ed in the tenor of the bill itself, suppose, that a more regular and constant mode of clandestine exportation is carried on, under the form of “*pretended manufactures made of wool, slightly worked up, or otherwise put together, so as that the same may be again reduced to, and made use of as wool?*” May not I, upon such suggestion, and being informed, as well as in other particulars, that the only proper package for these pretended manufactures, and under cover of which they may the most safely pass, pretending to be manufactures, is the package of BALES; may not I suggest, that neither this bill, nor any other measure, will have any real and adequate effect, to prevent the clandestine exportation of wool, unless all BALES, pretending to contain woollen goods, are packed under the inspection of an officer, who shall seal the same; and unless no bales be suffered to be put on board any ship or vessel, if not so sealed, without being opened and searched at the port of exportation. And if any wool, or any *pretended manufactures*, are found packed in such bales, the whole shall be forfeited, and the owners, packers, and exporters, as the fact shall turn out, shall be liable to all
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the penalties provided by this bill for such crimes. This search and examination is prescribed to be observed in the case of every other package, whether in sack, bag, wrapper, butt, pipe, hog-head, chest, trunk, cask, or case. BALES, as well as *trusses, chests, or any other package*, where the revenue is concerned, are by the 12th Geo. I. c. 28, § 17, liable, either before or after shipping, to be opened and strictly examined by an officer, called a Searcher: but this search does not extend to cases, however important to regulation of trade, where the revenue is not concerned; and the draughtsmen of the bill must know, that such search, even if such search was directed to be made *at the port only*, and for regulation only, would seldom be attended to *truly and strictly*. If they are in earnest to prevent the clandestine exportation of wool, in the form of pretended manufactures, a regulation must be made, directing, that before any woollen manufactures are packed up in BALES, &c. notice must be given to an officer of the customs, excise, salt duty, &c. to attend and inspect the packing thereof; and when the package is legally made up, under his inspection,

specification, he must seal it in such manner (particularly described in the regulation) as that it cannot be opened, without breaking the seal: and if any BALE, &c. comes to any port for entry, without being so packed and sealed, or where it appears that the seal hath been broken, it shall, at the cost and charge of the owner, be there unpacked, and strictly examined. This packing under inspection hath a precedent in the regulations directed to be observed in the packing of linens, in the cases of bounty or drawback. Why then shall not such inspection of the packing of woollen manufactures, go to BALES, &c. in this new bill? There can be no reason, unless the draughtsmen of the bill, with a cunning zeal, mean to shut every door and passage, except that by which the *pretended manufactures* described by them, can get out the most easily and most safely.

The word BALE, therefore, must be inserted in every clause wherein reference is had to sack, bag, or other wrapper, or to butt, pipe, hoghead, barrel, cask, tub, box, chest, or case; and particularly in the second clause of page 21 of the
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printed bill, and also in page 22, line 3. What reason in law or justice can be given for exempting BALES from this search and inspection, but what would go to the exempting casks of all sorts, tubs, boxes, chests, and cases? and yet these latter are by the bill required to be searched, &c. If this matter be not very satisfactorily explained, and if *this mode of the clandestine exportation of wool as pretended manufactures*, be not, by effective regulations and sufficient restrictions, provided against, the Country and Parliament will have a right to suspect, that this bill, under the pretence of preventing the exportation of wool by the grower, is providing a safe and secure way for the exportation of that species, and part of the wool (namely the long combed wool, which the foreigner wants most for the web) which the manufacturer, after the fleece is broken and stapled, and after he has taken out the parts he wants, doth not work up, unless into pretended manufactures.

There have been people who have said, although they dare not come forward as public evidence, that great quantities of wool of this sort, and in this form of pretended manufactures, under cover
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of *bales*, have gone abroad. I will not be so unjust to the draughtsmen of the bill, as to impute, on such evidence, or on suggestion, any such designs to them; although they have not been sparing in their suggestions of felonious acts, as committed by a no less respectable class of people than the country gentlemen graziers and farmers, (growers of wool,) quite round England, Wales, and Scotland, within ten miles of the sea-coasts. I shall, however, leave the bill with this ear-mark on it—only for examination as it goes by.

Upon the whole, the bill is grounded on principles so estrained from all justice; all common right; is so fraught with destructive mischief to the country interest; so entirely counteracts the principles of commerce, that, if duly considered, it can never become a law: but if, without due consideration, it should be forced into a law, it will be found so abounding at all points with such impracticable absurdities, and hath provided so much to be done, without having any body to do it, that it can never be executed.

October, 1787.

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